

1 Alan Gura (SBN 178,221)  
2 Owen Yeates (pro hac vice)  
INSTITUTE FOR FREE SPEECH  
3 1150 Connecticut Ave., NW, Ste. 801  
Washington, DC 20036  
4 Phone: 202-301-3300  
agura@ifs.org  
oyeates@ifs.org  
5

6 James R. Sutton (SBN 135,930)  
Nicholas Sanders (SBN 307,402)  
7 THE SUTTON LAW FIRM  
150 Post St. Ste. 405  
San Francisco, CA 94108  
8 Phone: 415-732-7700  
jsutton@campaignlawyers.com  
nsanders@campaignlawyers.com  
9

10 Counsel for Plaintiffs

11 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
12 NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

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13 SAN FRANCISCANS SUPPORTING  
14 PROP B, *et al.*,

No. 3:22-cv-02785-LB

15 *Plaintiffs,*

16 v.  
17 DAVID CHIU, *et al.*,  
18 *Defendants.*

**NOTICE OF MOTION AND  
MOTION FOR TEMPORARY  
RESTRANDING ORDER AND  
PRELIMINARY  
INJUNCTION; MEMORANDUM OF  
POINTS AND AUTHORITIES**

19 Hearing date: TBD  
20 Hearing time: TBD  
Courtroom: TBD  
21 Judge: Honorable Laurel Beeler

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## NOTICE OF MOTION AND MOTION

To all parties and their counsel of record:

3 Please take notice that, as soon as the matter may be heard, before the Honorable  
4 Laurel Beeler of the United States District Court for the Northern District of  
5 California, Plaintiffs will and hereby move the Court under Rule 65 of the Federal  
6 Rules of Civil Procedure and Local Rules 7-1 and 6-2, for a temporary restraining  
7 order and for a preliminary injunction prohibiting Defendants and their officers,  
8 agents, divisions, commissions, and all persons acting under or in concert with them,  
9 from enforcing requirements that speakers disclose the top donors to the speakers' top  
10 donors on their communications ("on-communication secondary donor disclosure") at  
11 S.F. Campaign and Governmental Conduct Code ("S.F. Code") § 1.161(a),  
12 <https://bit.ly/3MzrSXp>.

13 Plaintiffs request that bond be waived or set in the amount of \$1.00. This Court has  
14 discretion to waive the security requirements of Fed. R. Civ. P. 65(c) or require only a  
15 nominal bond. *Barahona-Gomez v. Reno*, 167 F.3d 1228, 1237 (9th Cir. 1999). “Courts  
16 [in the Ninth Circuit] also have denied bond requirements where the plaintiff was  
17 pursuing litigation that would vindicate important constitutional rights.” *Thomas v.*  
18 *Cty. of Riverside Sheriff’s Dep’t*, No. EDCV 10-01846 VAP(DTBx), 2011 U.S. Dist.  
19 LEXIS 164992, at \*80 (C.D. Cal. July 7, 2011) (quotation marks omitted) (compiling  
20 cases). Given that Plaintiffs seek to vindicate important First Amendment rights, the  
21 Court should waive the bond requirement or set bond at a nominal amount.

## MEMORANDUM OF POINTS AND AUTHORITIES

## INTRODUCTION

24 The City and County San Francisco (“City” or “San Francisco”) coopts speakers’  
25 messages about candidates and measures, forcing speakers not just to replace part of  
26 their message with the City’s speech, but to make the City’s message the focus of any  
27 message. The City forgets that “the First Amendment ‘has its fullest and most urgent  
28 application’ in the context of “[f]ree discussion about” political issues like candidacies

1 and ballot measures. *Eu v. S.F. Cty. Democratic Cent. Comm.*, 489 U.S. 214, 223 (1989)  
 2 (quoting *Monitor Patriot Co. v. Roy*, 401 U.S. 265, 272 (1971)).

3 To coopt a speaker’s message, the City must show that it has a compelling or  
 4 important interest and that its compelled speech—a requirement that speakers state  
 5 in their communications the donors to their donors—are narrowly or sufficiently  
 6 related to that interest. This the City cannot do. It already satisfies the only possible  
 7 interest—that in informing the public about those who wish to financially support a  
 8 candidate or measure—by demanding that speakers disclose donor information to the  
 9 City, which the City then publishes for anyone surfing the web from the comfort of  
 10 their living room couch to review. S.F. Code § 1.110(a).

11 But that is not enough for the City. It demands that speakers include their top  
 12 three donors in any communication and, if any of those donors is a committee, the  
 13 donor’s top two contributors. And internet video advertisements must begin with this  
 14 information, distracting and driving away listeners before they have even heard the  
 15 speaker’s message. This violates a speaker’s right to decide “what to say and what to  
 16 leave unsaid.” *Hurley v. Irish-American Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Grp.*, 515 U.S. 557,  
 17 573 (1995) (quotation marks omitted).

18 Moreover, the City’s compelled messaging cannot inform voters because it in fact  
 19 misleads them, making them believe that secondary donors who may in fact oppose a  
 20 message have supported a candidate or measure. Indeed, given that this misleading  
 21 disclosure may harm secondary donors’ reputations, it will keep primary donors like  
 22 Plaintiff Edwin M. Lee Asian Pacific Democratic Club PAC sponsored by Neighbors for  
 23 a Better San Francisco Advocacy (“Ed Lee Dems”) from supporting messages they  
 24 would like to share in and from associating with allies like San Franciscans  
 25 Supporting Prop B (“SPB” or “Committee”).

26 Todd David formed SPB to support the passage of San Francisco Charter  
 27 Amendment B (“Prop B” or “Proposition B”), but given that the compelled speech  
 28 requirements frighten away donors, make it impossible to share many of its messages,

1 and too alter the content of others, the Committee will not speak absent injunctive  
2 relief against the on-communication secondary donor disclosure requirements at S.F.  
3 Code § 1.161(a).

4 STATEMENT OF ISSUES TO BE DECIDED

5 Whether the on-communication secondary donor disclosure requirements at S.F.  
6 Code § 1.161(a) are unconstitutional and should be enjoined.

7 STATEMENT OF FACTS

8 I. PLAINTIFFS

9 Plaintiff SPB is a primarily formed independent expenditure committee, registered  
10 with the California Secretary of State and required to file campaign reports with the  
11 San Francisco Ethics Commission. David Decl. ¶ 3. Todd David formed the Committee  
12 with the goal of supporting Prop B, which would change the duties, composition, and  
13 appointment method for the Building Inspection Commission. *Id.* ¶ 4.

14 As the Committee's treasurer, Todd David oversees the Committee's fundraising  
15 and expenditures. *Id.* ¶ 2. Mr. David has substantial experience in San Francisco  
16 politics, including past management of the San Francisco Parent PAC and other  
17 primarily formed committees. *Id.* ¶ 23. But while the City's on-communication  
18 secondary donor disclosure demands remain, Mr. David and the Committee will be  
19 unable to share their messages with voters, in this or future elections. *Id.* ¶¶ 22, 25.

20 Plaintiff Ed Lee Dems is a grassroots organization dedicated to engaging Asian  
21 Pacific Islander ("API") Americans in the Democratic Party, supporting strong API  
22 leaders, and empowering young API people in the political process. Cheng Decl. ¶ 3. It  
23 also works to benefit the API community and San Franciscans in general by  
24 advocating for increased neighborhood safety; affordable housing and health care;  
25 supporting local public schools, public transportation, and public parks; and furthering  
26 civil rights, women's rights, and LGBT rights. *Id.* ¶ 4. Ed Lee Dems is supporting the  
27 Committee's efforts because Prop B's reforms will help fight San Francisco's affordable  
28 housing problems. *Id.* ¶ 5.

1 As long as the City's requirements are in place, however, Ed Lee Dems cannot  
 2 support any efforts by SPB or other committees that would result in on-  
 3 communication disclosure of its donors. *Id.* ¶¶ 8, 11. Such disclosure will scare away  
 4 donors to Ed Lee Dems, and it would undermine the organization's mission. For  
 5 example, disclosure of David Chiu as a secondary donor would imply that he is  
 6 improperly supporting an issue before the City, damaging the reputation of a  
 7 prominent member of the API community. *Id.* ¶ 7.

8 **II. SAN FRANCISCO'S DISCLOSURE AND COMPELLED SPEECH REGIME**

9 San Francisco expands on the campaign disclosure regime required "by the  
 10 California Political Reform Act, California Government Code Section 81000 *et seq.*"  
 11 S.F. Code § 1.112(a)(1). Any statement required by the state must also be filed "in an  
 12 electronic format with the Ethics Commission." *Id.*

13 **A. California's already comprehensive regime**

14 California defines a committee as "any person or combination of persons who  
 15 directly or indirectly" receives \$2,000 or more in contributions or makes \$1,000 or  
 16 more in independent expenditures. Cal. Gov't Code § 82013. A "Primarily formed  
 17 committee" means a committee . . . which is formed or exists primarily to support or  
 18 oppose . . . [a] single candidate [or] . . . single measure." Cal. Gov't Code § 82047.5.

19 A committee must file a "statement of organization . . . with the Secretary of State"  
 20 and "the local filing officer," here the S.F. Ethics Commission, "within 10 days" of  
 21 qualifying as a committee. Cal. Gov't Code § 84101(a). Committees are required to file  
 22 reports at various times. *See* Cal. Gov't Code §§ 84200(a) (semiannual); 84202.3  
 23 (adding dates on quarters); 84200.5 (preelection); 84200.8 (preelection).

24 Those forced to register as committees must report the total "contributions received  
 25 during the period covered by the campaign statement and the total cumulative  
 26 amount of contributions received." *Id.* § 84211(a). They must state the total  
 27 contributions received by donors contributing \$100 or more and then state the total  
 28 given by those contributing less. *Id.* § 84211(c) and (d). And then the reporting

1 requirements become really specific: If any donor has given aggregate contributions of  
 2 \$100 or more to the committee, and that donor has given any money to the committee  
 3 during that reporting period, the committee must give the donor's full name, street  
 4 address, occupation, and employer, as well as the date and amount of the contribution  
 5 during the period and the total contributions the person has given. *Id.* § 84211(f).

6 Furthermore, California calls any contribution aggregating \$1,000 or more that is  
 7 given within 90 days of an election a "Late contribution," and it requires that  
 8 committees report such contributions within 24 hours of receiving them, including "the  
 9 date and amount of the late contribution" and the contributor's full name, "street  
 10 address, occupation, and the name of the contributor's employer." *Id.* §§ 82036, 84203.  
 11 Thus, in the months preceding an election, the public has near realtime access to  
 12 information about a committee's top donors, through both the state and the San  
 13 Francisco Ethics Commission. S.F. Code §§ 1.110(a), 1.112(a)(1).

14 In addition to disclosing donors to the government, California has strict content  
 15 and format requirements for communications by ballot measure committees. *See* Cal.  
 16 Gov't Code §§ 84501-84511. For example, a communication must state, "Ad paid for  
 17 by'[,] followed by the name of the committee." *Id.* § 84502(a)(1). The committee's name  
 18 must include the proposition number or letter, and whether the committee supports or  
 19 opposes the measure. *Id.* § 84107.

20 After the disclaimer, committees must then add top donor disclosure: each  
 21 communication must state, "committee major funding from' followed by the names of  
 22 the top [three] contributors to the committee," *id.* § 84503(a), who have given  
 23 "cumulative contributions of" \$50,000 or more, *id.* § 84501(c)(1). Strict requirements  
 24 govern how this information must be communicated. *See id.* §§ 84504 (radio and  
 25 telephone); 84504.1 (video); 84504.2 (print ads); 84504.3 (electronic media); 84504.6  
 26 (online platforms).

27       B. San Francisco intensifies the compelled speech requirements

28       While incorporating all of the state's campaign finance reporting regime, San

1 Francisco multiplies the compelled speech requirements. Not only must a speaker  
 2 disclose its own name and the names of its top three donors, but it must disclose on  
 3 the face of each communication the top two donors of each of their top three donors.  
 4 S.F. Code § 1.161(a)(1). In addition, San Francisco lowers the threshold for donor  
 5 reporting, demanding disclosure for donors who have given \$5,000 or more, not just  
 6 those who gave \$50,000 or more. *Id.* Except for audio and video communications, the  
 7 ad must note the amount given by each of these nine donors. *Id.*; S.F. Ethics Comm'n,  
 8 *Regulations to Campaign Finance Reform Ordinance San Francisco Campaign and*  
 9 *Governmental Conduct Code*, § 1.161-3(a)(4) (“S.F. Reg.”), <https://bit.ly/3KK5WYe>.

10 After listing a committee's three largest donors, a communication must further tell  
 11 voters that the speaker's financial disclosures, which the speaker has turned over to  
 12 the City and includes the just-named top donors, may be found at the Commission's  
 13 website. S.F. Code § 1.161(a)(2); *see* City and Cty. of S.F. Ethics Comm'n, *Independent*  
 14 *Expenditure Ads Referring to City Candidates*, <https://bit.ly/38l7KcE> (emphasis in  
 15 original) (“IE Reg.”) (**Financial disclosures are available at sfethics.org**”  
 16 (emphasis in original)).

17           1.     *Print communications (e.g., mailers and newspaper ads)*

18     For print ads designed to be individually distributed, such as mailers and  
 19 newspaper ads, the text must be at least as big as Arial 14-point font. *Id.* The  
 20 “Committee major funding” statement and each of the primary contributors must  
 21 begin a separate line. *Id* (emphasis omitted). The line for each of the primary donors  
 22 “must be numbered by placing the numerals 1, 2, and 3, respectively, before each”  
 23 donor's name. S.F. Reg. § 1.161-3, <https://bit.ly/3KK5WYe>. The words “contributors  
 24 include” must follow each of the primary donors, that followed by the secondary donors  
 25 who gave to that primary donor. *Id.* With the disclaimer announcing the speaker's  
 26 name, the three primary donors, and notice where to find financial disclosures, the  
 27 disclosure requirement must take up at least 5 lines.

28     In practice, for communications like those SPB wishes to run, the City's

1 requirements will capture much if not most of a speaker’s message. Given the  
 2 Committee’s donors, the disclaimer required here will consume 100% of a two by four  
 3 inch newspaper “ear” ad, about 70% of a five by five inch ad, about 35% of a five by ten  
 4 inch ad, and about 23% of an 8.5 by 11 inch mailer. *See* David Decl., ¶¶ 16-18; Exs. 2-  
 5.

6                   2.     *Audio and video communications*

7     San Francisco requires that the disclaimer and on-communication disclosure be the  
 8 focus of an audio or video communication—the first thing the audience sees and hears.  
 9 S.F. Code § 1.161(a)(5). Such communications must begin stating **“Ad paid for by**  
 10 **[committee’s name].”** IE Reg. (emphasis in original). The on-communication  
 11 disclosure follows: **“Committee major funding from [name(s) and dollar amount**  
 12 **contributed of top three (3) donors of \$5,000 or more],”** with each of those  
 13 primary contributors followed by their **“top two (2) contributors of \$5,000 or**  
 14 **more.”** *Id.* Audio and video communications must then state, **“Financial disclosures**  
 15 **are available at sfethics.org.”** *Id.*

16     The City also requires that video communications carry a written banner with the  
 17 disclosure. The written statement is similar to that for print ads. The “Committee  
 18 major funding” statement and each of the primary contributors must begin a separate  
 19 line. *Id.* The line for each of the primary donors “must be numbered by placing the  
 20 numerals 1, 2, and 3, respectively, before each” donor’s name. S.F. Reg. § 1.161-3. The  
 21 words “contributors include” must follow each of the primary donors, that followed by  
 22 the secondary donors who gave to that primary donor. *Id.* With the disclaimer  
 23 announcing the speaker’s name, the three primary donors, and notice where to find  
 24 financial disclosures, the disclosure requirement must take up at least 5 lines.

25     This banner must last for at least 17% of the time that shorter ads run, and up to  
 26 33% of the time longer ads run. IE Reg. (“at least five (5) seconds of a broadcast of 30  
 27 seconds or less or for at least 10 seconds of a broadcast longer than 30 seconds”). It  
 28 requires that “[e]ach top contributor . . . be disclosed on a separate horizontal line,”

1 and the entire compelled message with top donor information must take up “one third  
 2 of the display screen” that the audience sees. *Id.*

3 In practice, the burden on a speaker is much greater. It takes 32-33 seconds to  
 4 speak the City’s compelled message. David Decl. ¶¶ 12-13. This consumes 100% of a  
 5 15-second ad, 100% of a 30-second ad, and 53-55% of a 60-second ad. *Id.* ¶ 14. The  
 6 shorter length ads are the most preferred and effective, Derse Decl. ¶¶ 10-11, Sinn  
 7 Decl. ¶¶ 8-9, yet the City’s compelled speech denies the Committee the ability to use  
 8 either 15- or 30-second ads. Sinn Decl. ¶ 10; David Decl. ¶ 14.

9                   3.     *Penalties and enforcement*

10 The City punishes violations of the on-communication donor disclosure  
 11 requirement with criminal, civil and administrative penalties. S.F. Code § 1.170.  
 12 Knowing or willful violations are misdemeanors, punishable by fines up to \$5,000 for  
 13 each violation, up to six months in county jail, or both. *Id.* at § 1.170(a). Failure to  
 14 report contributions or expenditures is punishable by the greater of \$5,000 or three  
 15 times the amount not reported. *Id.* Intentional or negligent violations are punished  
 16 with civil fines up to \$5,000 for each violation or three times the amount not reported.  
 17 *Id.* at § 1.170(b). Any other violations are punished administratively, with the same  
 18 potential fines. *Id.* at § 1.170(c); San Francisco Charter, appendix C, § C3.699-  
 19 13(c)(i)(3), <https://bit.ly/3KP3SOI>. If a committee does not comply with the on-  
 20 communication donor disclosure requirement, its “treasurer[] . . . may be held  
 21 personally liable for violations.” S.F. Code § 1.170(g).

22 Any individual “may file a complaint with the Ethics Commission, City Attorney, or  
 23 District Attorney,” who are required to investigate the complaint. S.F. Code § 1.168(a).  
 24 Upon belief that a violation has occurred, the Commission must forward any  
 25 complaint it receives to the district attorney and City attorney. San Francisco Charter,  
 26 appendix C, § C3.699-13. “The City Attorney . . . may bring a civil action to enjoin  
 27 violations of or compel compliance . . . .” *Id.* at § 1.168(b). If the City attorney and  
 28 district attorney do not take action, the Commission may conduct its own investigation

1 and initiate an enforcement hearing. San Francisco Charter, appendix C, § C3.699-13.

2 **III. IMPACT ON PLAINTIFFS' SPEECH**

3 The Committee is a primarily formed independent expenditure committee formed  
 4 to support the passage of Prop B. David Decl. ¶¶ 3-4. Plaintiff Todd David is the  
 5 treasurer of the Committee and oversees its fundraising and expenditures. *Id.* ¶ 2. The  
 6 Committee wishes to support the measure with 8.5 by 11 inch mailers; 2 by 2 inch ear  
 7 ads, 5 by 5 inch ads, and 5 by 10 inch ads in newspapers; and internet ads of varying  
 8 lengths, including 15-, 30-, and 60-second ads. *Id.* ¶ 5. All these ads will trigger San  
 9 Francisco's on-communication disclosure requirements.

10 To date, the Committee has raised \$15,000, including \$5,000 each from Concerned  
 11 Parents Supporting the Recall of Collins, Lopez and Moliga ("Concerned Parents");  
 12 BOMA SF Ballot Issues PAC; and Edwin M. Lee Asian Pacific Democratic Club PAC  
 13 sponsored by Neighbors for a Better San Francisco Advocacy ("Ed Lee Dems"). *Id.* ¶ 6.  
 14 The Committee hopes to raise further funds, including additional \$5,000+  
 15 contributions. *Id.* ¶ 8. Potential contributors have expressed concern about the  
 16 secondary donor disclosure requirements and are reluctant to contribute if their  
 17 donors must be disclosed on the Committee's communications. *Id.* ¶ 20.

18 Two of the Committee's major contributors, Concerned Parents and Ed Lee Dems  
 19 are themselves committees that have received \$5,000 or more from donors, triggering  
 20 the secondary donor on-communication disclosure requirement. David Decl. ¶ 7.

21 Plaintiff Ed Lee Dems works to empower young Asian Pacific Islander ("API")  
 22 people in the political process and to support strong API leaders. Cheng Decl. ¶ 3. It  
 23 also sustains the API community by advocating for better neighborhood safety, public  
 24 parks, public transportation, and public schools; for affordable housing and health  
 25 care; and for civil rights, women's rights, and LGBT rights. *Id.* ¶ 4. Ed Lee Dems  
 26 believes that Prop B will benefit the community by bringing needed reform to the  
 27 Building Inspection Commission, and that contributing to SPB would help get that  
 28 message out. *Id.* ¶ 5.

1 Ed Lee Dems cannot support the Committee, however, if the Committee makes any  
 2 communications that would trigger the on-communication secondary donor disclosure.  
 3 *Id.* ¶ 11. Doing so could harm the reputations of leaders that it wants to uphold as  
 4 part of its mission, including City Attorney David Chiu, and it would lose the support  
 5 of donors if they knew it was supporting groups that triggered the on-communication  
 6 secondary donor disclosure. *Id.* ¶ 9.

7 Furthermore, the City's compelled speech requirements will make the Committee's  
 8 messages impossible or ineffective. Taken together, the requirements will take 32-33  
 9 seconds to state, thus consuming 100% of the Committee's 15-second and 30-second  
 10 internet video ads and 53-55% of the 60-second ads. David Decl. ¶¶ 13-14. They will  
 11 take up at least 33% of the screen during the first 5 seconds of the 15-second video ads  
 12 and the first 10 seconds of the longer ads. IE Reg.<sup>1</sup> For the Committee's newspaper  
 13 ads, the disclaimer would consume 100% of the two by four inch ads, 70% of the five by  
 14 five inch ads, and 35% of the five by ten inch ads. David Decl. ¶¶ 16-17. And they  
 15 would consume 23% of the face of an 8.5 by 11 inch mailer. *Id.* ¶ 18.

16 The Committee and Mr. David would like to share its messages in support of Prop  
 17 B, without the on-communication secondary donor disclosure the City demands, but it  
 18 refrains from doing so because it fears the penalties for exercising its First  
 19 Amendment rights. Accordingly, they will refrain from speaking absent a restraining  
 20 order and further injunctive relief. David Decl. ¶¶ 25-26.

21 Furthermore, Mr. David has long been active in San Francisco politics, creating  
 22 primarily formed and other committees to advocate about measures and candidates,  
 23 including the San Francisco Parent PAC and Yes on Prop B, Committee in Support of  
 24 the Earthquake Safety and Emergency Response Bond. David Decl. ¶¶ 23-24. Mr.  
 25 David will create primarily formed committees in future elections, but San Francisco's  
 26

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27  
 28 <sup>1</sup> Under state law, such disclaimers use up 33% of the screen. If San Francisco's 4%  
 line height rule were used, the Committee's disclaimer would use up approximately  
 51% of the screen. David Decl. ¶ 15.

1 requirements will continue to limit the messages that Mr. David and his committees  
 2 will be able to share. David Decl. ¶ 25. The law will also continue to inhibit others  
 3 from associating with and supporting the messages of Mr. David and his committees.  
 4 David Decl. ¶ 8; Cheng Decl. ¶¶ 8-9, 11. Ed Lee Dems, in particular, will be unable to  
 5 support Mr. David's or other committees as long as San Francisco requires on-  
 6 communication secondary donor disclosure. Cheng Decl. ¶¶ 8-9, 11.

7 **ARGUMENT**

8 The Court should grant Plaintiffs' request for a temporary restraining order and a  
 9 preliminary injunction because (1) they "are likely to succeed on the merits;" (2) they  
 10 will "suffer irreparable harm in the absence of preliminary relief; (3) the balance of  
 11 equities tips in their favor; and (4) an injunction is in the public interest." *Short v.*  
 12 *Brown*, 893 F.3d 671, 675 (9th Cir. 2018) (citing *Winter v. Nat. Res. Def. Council, Inc.*,  
 13 555 U.S. 7, 20 (2008)). "When the government is a party, these last two factors merge."  
 14 *East Bay Sanctuary Covenant v. Garland*, 994 F.3d 962, 975 (9th Cir. 2021) (citations  
 15 omitted). The Court's "analysis is substantially identical for the [preliminary]  
 16 injunction and the TRO." *Stuhlbarg Int'l Sales Co. v. John D. Brush & Co.*, 240 F.3d  
 17 832, 839 n.7 (9th Cir. 2001).

18 I. PLAINTIFFS ARE LIKELY TO ESTABLISH THAT SAN FRANCISCO'S COMPELLED SPEECH  
 19 FAILS FIRST AMENDMENT SCRUTINY.

20 San Francisco's demand for secondary on-communication disclosure is a form of  
 21 compelled speech that cannot survive First Amendment scrutiny. It goes beyond any  
 22 disclaimer or disclosure that the Supreme Court has ever approved, and it is not  
 23 tailored to any interest that might justify a speaker's right to decide "what to say and  
 24 what to leave unsaid." *Hurley*, 515 U.S. at 573 (quotation marks omitted); *see also*  
 25 *Riley v. Nat'l Fed'n of Blind*, 487 U.S. 781, 797 (1988) (holding that "freedom of  
 26 speech" is "a term necessarily comprising the decision of both what to say and what  
 27 not to say" (emphasis in original)). "Mandating speech that a speaker would not  
 28 otherwise make," as the Code does here, "necessarily alters the content of the speech."

1 *Riley*, 487 U.S. at 795. In such situations, “the First Amendment direct[s] that  
 2 government not dictate the content of speech absent compelling necessity, and then,  
 3 only by means precisely tailored.” *Id.* at 800. While strict scrutiny should apply here to  
 4 this content-altering compelled speech, San Francisco’s on-communication disclosure  
 5 requirements cannot withstand the tailoring required under either strict or exacting  
 6 scrutiny.

7 A. Strict scrutiny applies to San Francisco’s content-based, compelled messaging  
 8 Although the Supreme Court has applied exacting scrutiny to true disclaimer and  
 9 disclosure requirements, strict scrutiny must apply to the hybrid that San Francisco  
 10 has created. The Supreme Court recently signaled that it may be increasing the  
 11 scrutiny given to any disclosure regime. *Compare Ams. for Prosperity Found. v. Bonta*,  
 12 141 S. Ct. 2373, 2383 (2021) (“*AFPF*”) (Roberts, C.J., op.) (exact scrutiny applies to  
 13 disclosure requirement), *with id.* at 2390 (Thomas, J., concurring) (strict scrutiny  
 14 applies to all disclosure requirements), *with id.* at 2391 (Alito, J., concurring)  
 15 (withholding judgment whether strict or exacting scrutiny applies).

16 But even prior to *AFPF*, strict scrutiny and not exacting scrutiny was required for  
 17 the hybrid of disclosure and disclaimers at issue here. Disclaimers and disclosure are  
 18 terms of art, and their proper demarcation is critical to constitutionally applying them.  
 19 In the jargon of campaign regulation, disclaimer statutes require that a  
 20 communication state who made it—who “is responsible for the content of th[e]  
 21 advertising,” *Citizens United v. Fed. Election Comm’n*, 558 U.S. 310, 366 (2010), while  
 22 disclosure statutes require that speakers report to the government their expenditures  
 23 and contributions, *Buckley v. Valeo*, 424 U.S. 1, 63 (1976) (per curiam). So defined,  
 24 disclosure and disclaimer requirements “impose no ceiling on campaign-related  
 25 activities.” *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 366. That is, a true disclaimer is short, little  
 26 more than a two- or three-second statement about who made the ad. And disclosure is  
 27 information that the speaker gives to the government, that it may then make available  
 28 using its own resources to the public. Given that true disclosure has no effect on a

1 message's length, and a true disclaimer is so short, neither acts to "impose [a] ceiling  
 2 on campaign-related activities," *id.*, or to "reduce[] the quantity of expression,"  
 3 *McCutcheon v. Fed. Election Comm'n*, 572 U.S. 185, 197 (2014). Given that San  
 4 Francisco's hybrid of disclaimer and disclosure requirements does reduce the quantity  
 5 of discussion, the City must meet strict scrutiny's demands for a "compelling interest  
 6 and . . . least restrictive means." *McCutcheon*, 572 U.S. at 197.

7 Moreover, strict scrutiny further applies as San Francisco has devised a content-  
 8 based restriction on speech, as compelling a speaker to share the government's  
 9 message "necessarily alters the content of the speech." *Riley*, 487 U.S. at 795; *see id.* at  
 10 800 (requiring "precisely tailored" to a "compelling necessity"). Accordingly, the Ninth  
 11 Circuit has already required strict scrutiny for similar on-communication disclosure  
 12 requirements, and held that the law was unconstitutional. *ACLU of Nev. v. Heller*, 378  
 13 F.3d 979, 992 (9th Cir. 2004) (discussing "most 'exacting scrutiny'").

14 Under strict scrutiny, San Francisco's compelled speech requirements must  
 15 "promote[] a compelling interest and [be] the least restrictive means to further [that]  
 16 interest." *McCutcheon*, 572 U.S. at 197. But even under exacting scrutiny, the  
 17 government must establish "a substantial relation between the disclosure requirement  
 18 and a sufficiently important governmental interest." *AFPF*, 141 S. Ct. at 2383  
 19 (Roberts, C.J., opinion) (quotation marks omitted). And San Francisco's law cannot  
 20 escape the doubts raised if less restrictive means exist under either of these standards.  
 21 *Id.* at 2386 (majority op.) (requiring that the government "demonstrate its need for"  
 22 more burdensome requirements "in light of any less intrusive alternatives"); *cf.*  
 23 *McCutcheon*, 572 U.S. at 218 ("In the First Amendment context, fit matters[, e]ven  
 24 when the Court is not applying strict scrutiny . . .").

25 San Francisco's secondary on-communication disclosure requirements are not  
 26 substantially related to the only applicable governmental interest, much less narrowly  
 27 tailored to a compelling interest. And the requirements utterly fail any inquiry, under  
 28 strict or exacting scrutiny, into whether less restrictive alternatives are available.

1       B. San Francisco's compelled messaging about secondary donors does not serve a  
 2       substantial or compelling interest

3       The Supreme Court has recognized only three interests as substantial enough to  
 4       save disclosure laws under exacting scrutiny: fighting actual or apparent corruption,  
 5       combatting circumvention of contribution limits, and the informational interest.

6       *Buckley*, 424 U.S. at 66-68. None of these could support San Francisco's law.

7       The anticircumvention interest exists only as a corollary to the anticorruption  
 8       interest, and the anticorruption interest cannot exist in the context of independent  
 9       expenditures, which by definition cannot pose the risk of dollars being exchanged for  
 10      political favors. *See McIntyre v. Ohio Elections Comm'n*, 514 U.S. 334, 352 n.15 (1995)  
 11      (noting that “[t]he risk of corruption perceived in cases involving candidate elections  
 12      simply is not present in a popular vote on a public issue” (citations and quotation  
 13      marks omitted)); *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 357 (holding that the anticorruption  
 14      interest does not apply to expenditures made independent of candidates); *Republican  
 15      Party v. King*, 741 F.3d 1089, 1102 (10th Cir. 2013) (rejecting any “freestanding” anti-  
 16      circumvention interest where the anti-corruption interest does not exist).

17      Moreover, the government has no interest in informing the public about whatever  
 18      might strike it or the government's fancy. Disclosure laws justified under the  
 19      government's informational interest must inform voters “concerning those who  
 20      support” a ballot measure or candidate before the voters, *Buckley*, 424 U.S. at 81, not  
 21      in doxing supporters of a speaker or organization generally. Thus courts must analyze  
 22      whether there exists in a given case a “public interest in knowing who is spending and  
 23      receiving money to support or oppose a ballot issue.” *Sampson v. Buescher*, 625 F.3d  
 24      1247, 1256 (10th Cir. 2010); *see also Buckley*, 424 U.S. at 66 (noting interest in “where  
 25      political campaign money comes from” (quotation marks omitted)); *Family PAC v.  
 26      McKenna*, 685 F.3d 800, 806 (9th Cir. 2012) (“an interest in learning who supports and  
 27      opposes ballot measures”). And, to ensure that disclosure requirements actually get at  
 28      monetary support for a candidate or ballot measure, courts have emphasized the

1 importance of limiting disclosure to contributions earmarked to support such  
 2 advocacy. *See Van Hollen v. Fed. Election Comm'n*, 811 F.3d 486, 497 (D.C. Cir. 2016)  
 3 (using cancer society example to explain earmarking); *Indep. Inst. v. Williams*, 812  
 4 F.3d 787, 797 (10th Cir. 2016) (noting importance of earmarking); *Lakewood Citizens*  
 5 *Watchdog Grp. v. City of Lakewood*, No. 21-cv-01488-PAB, 2021 U.S. Dist. LEXIS  
 6 168731, at \*33-36 (D. Colo. Sep. 7, 2021) (same); *Indep. Inst. v. Fed. Election Comm'n*,  
 7 216 F. Supp. 3d 176, 191 (D.D.C. 2016) (three judge panel) (noting that requirements  
 8 tailored to donors giving "for the specific purpose of supporting the advertisement").

9 The challenged provisions do not serve the informational interest. Section 1.161  
 10 forces the Committee to include a long statement about the top two donors to each of  
 11 its top three donors. S.F. Code § 1.161(a)(1) (defining top donors as those giving \$5,000  
 12 or more). But San Francisco does not require that the secondary donors contribute to  
 13 the primary donors with the goal of supporting the Committee's communications in  
 14 favor of Prop B. It does not even require that the secondary donors have knowledge,  
 15 much less a suspicion, that their donations might eventually support Prop B.

16 Indeed, those secondary donors may be giving to the Committee's donors for any  
 17 number of reasons. For example, some donors may intend to support the efforts of Ed  
 18 Lee Dems to promote the representation of Asian-Pacific Islanders in San Francisco  
 19 politics and leadership; to further civil rights, women's rights, and LGBT rights; to  
 20 support public schools, public transportation, and local parks; and to secure access to  
 21 affordable housing and health care. *See Cheng Decl.* ¶¶ 3-4. When they give the  
 22 organization \$5, \$50, or \$5,000, they may have no clue that Ed Lee Dems cares  
 23 anything about Prop B, much less that their donations might help support Ed Lee  
 24 Dems's donation to another committee that supports Prop B. Indeed, some Ed Lee  
 25 Dems donors might oppose Prop B.

26 For example, when David Chiu for Assembly 2022 donated to Ed Lee Dems, it is  
 27 highly unlikely that Mr. Chiu knew that Ed Lee Dems would be donating to SPB, or  
 28 that his committee might be listed as a donor on one of SPB's communications. Cheng

1 Decl. ¶ 7. Nonetheless, in the name of informing San Francisco's voters, the disclaimer  
 2 San Francisco requires would lead voters to believe that Mr. Chiu is running for  
 3 another office and improperly taking positions on City issues. *Id.*

4 The D.C. Circuit further illustrated the point in *Van Hollen v. Fed. Election*  
 5 *Comm'n*, 811 F.3d 486 (D.C. Cir. 2016). Upholding an FEC regulation's earmarking  
 6 requirement, the court noted "the intuitive logic" that an expansive donor disclosure  
 7 regime would spread misinformation. *Id.* at 497-98. The court contemplated a "not  
 8 unlikely scenario" where a partisan Republican gave to the American Cancer Society's  
 9 general mission "to fund the ongoing search for a cure," yet found herself reported as  
 10 supporting Cancer Society ads that attacked "Republicans in Congress" whose deficit-  
 11 reducing efforts would mean "fewer federal grants for scientists studying cancer." *Id.*  
 12 at 497. "Wouldn't a rule requiring disclosure of [the] Republican donor, who did *not*  
 13 support issue ads against her own party, convey some misinformation to the public  
 14 about who *supported* the advertisements?" *Id.* (emphasis in original).<sup>2</sup>

15 The level of confusion is inevitable when secondary donors are included directly on  
 16 the face of an ad, with similar billing to the primary speaker and its actual financial  
 17 supporters. It is only natural to assume that individuals listed on the face of a  
 18 communication support it. By forcing the Committee to include secondary donors on  
 19 its communications, San Francisco misleads the public, making voters believe that the  
 20 secondary donors support Prop B and the Committee's communications in support of  
 21 Prop B, even though they may in fact oppose both. This not only fails to serve the  
 22 informational interest, but subverts it. It undermines voters' efforts "to place [the  
 23 ballot measure] in the political spectrum," *Buckley*, 424 U.S. at 67, to understand  
 24

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25  
 26       <sup>2</sup> Likewise, if the Southern Baptist Convention were to donate to the ACLU for its  
 27 efforts in fighting the patentability of human genetic material, it would be an  
 28 exaggeration to conclude that it supported an ad run by the ACLU in favor of legal  
     abortion. See ACLU, *BRCA — Statement of Support from the Ethics & Religious  
     Liberty Commission, Southern Baptist Convention*, <https://bit.ly/3xEs8QP> (noting  
     ideological alliance on issues).

1 which groups and individuals in the political spectrum support and do not support the  
 2 measure. *See also id.* at 81 (noting that the interest must “help[] voters to define more  
 3 of the [measure’s] constituencies”); *ProtectMarriage.com - Yes on 8 v. Bowen*, 752 F.3d  
 4 827, 832 (9th Cir. 2014) (“where a particular ballot measure or candidate falls on the  
 5 political spectrum”).

6 San Francisco’s on-communication secondary donor disclosure falls far short of  
 7 exacting scrutiny’s requirement that it be substantially related to the informational  
 8 interest. Accordingly, there is even less chance that it could survive strict scrutiny’s  
 9 requirement that it be narrowly tailored, even if San Francisco somehow  
 10 demonstrated that it had a compelling interest. The requirements are  
 11 unconstitutional, both facially and as applied to the Committee’s speech.

12 C. Less restrictive means to achieve the informational interest highlight the  
 13 unconstitutionality of the compelled speech requirements

14 Even if San Francisco could demonstrate a substantial relation to the  
 15 informational interest, “a substantial relation to an important interest is not enough  
 16 to save a disclosure regime that is insufficiently tailored.” *AFPF*, 141 S. Ct. at 2384.  
 17 Narrow tailoring is demanded “where First Amendment activity is chilled—even if  
 18 indirectly—[b]ecause First Amendment freedoms need breathing space to survive.” *Id.*  
 19 (quotation marks omitted) (alteration in original). San Francisco’s requirements  
 20 directly chill the Committee’s and others’ speech, and the City must therefore  
 21 “demonstrate its need for universal production in light of any less intrusive  
 22 alternatives.” *Id.* at 2386. It cannot do so.

23 The internet did not exist when *Buckley* upheld the Federal Election Campaign  
 24 Act’s disclosure provisions. We no longer live in 1976, when accessing the disclosure  
 25 information required obtaining documents from Washington, D.C. and compiling  
 26 information from paper records, and yet *Buckley* gave no hint of a need for on-  
 27 communication disclosure. Inquisitive San Francisco voters need only visit the Ethics  
 28 Commission’s offices near City Hall, where all the “[c]ampaign statements are to be

1 open for public inspection and reproduction.” S.F. Code § 1.110(a). In fact, they do not  
 2 need to even leave their home or campaign office to discover their ideological  
 3 opponents’ doings, as the Commission is required to “make campaign statements  
 4 available through its website.” *Id.* And, if a list of a speaker’s top contributors and its  
 5 contributors’ contributors were really necessary to serve an informational interest,  
 6 then San Francisco might try to follow the state’s example and require that speakers  
 7 “maintain an accurate list of the committee’s top . . . contributors,” and provide that to  
 8 the Ethics Commission. Cal. Gov’t Code § 84223(a). The Commission could then make  
 9 it publicly “available through its website.” S.F. Code § 1.110(a); *see Riley*, 487 U.S. at  
 10 800 (noting that the government could “itself publish [any] financial disclosure forms  
 11 it requires,” thus “communicat[ing] the desired information to the public without  
 12 burdening a speaker with unwanted speech”).

13 Moreover, San Francisco cannot argue that the compelled speech is constitutional  
 14 because it only results in more speech. Given speakers’ limited resources, San  
 15 Francisco’s compelled speech requirements force speakers to decide what part of their  
 16 message they will lose to make room for the City’s message. The City’s compelled  
 17 message for the Committee will use up 100% of a 15-second internet video ad, 100% of a  
 18 a 30-second ad, and 53-55% of a 60-second ad, as well as a third to half the screen at  
 19 the beginning of each ad for the written requirements, David Decl. ¶¶ 14-15; 100% of a  
 20 two by four inch newspaper ad, about 70% of a five by five ad, and about 35% of a five  
 21 by ten inch ad, *id.* ¶¶ 16-17; and about 23% of the face of an 8.5 by 11 inch mailer, *id.*  
 22 ¶ 18. That is, for many ads, San Francisco forces individuals and groups to give up  
 23 speaking altogether. And with respect to all ads, it violates a speaker’s right to decide  
 24 “what to say and what to leave unsaid.” *Hurley*, 515 U.S. at 573 (quotation marks  
 25 omitted). “No governmental interest that has been suggested is sufficient to justify the  
 26 restriction on the quantity of political expression . . . .” *Buckley*, 424 U.S. at 55.

27 Nor can San Francisco argue that such on-communication secondary donor  
 28 disclosure to reveal contributions that are hidden when funneled through multiple

1 committees. California law already requires that if a contributor gives a contribution  
 2 to a committee, but that money is earmarked as a contribution to another committee  
 3 or to support a ballot measure or candidate, then the money must be reported by all  
 4 parties as a contribution for that final committee, ballot measure, or candidate. Cal.  
 5 Gov't Code § 85704.

6 San Francisco might assert that the on-communication secondary disclosure is  
 7 nonetheless necessary because it is easier for voters to get the disclosure from the  
 8 speaker's communication than from the Commission's website. But mere  
 9 "convenience" is too weak an interest to justify an infringement on core First  
 10 Amendment rights. *AFPF*, 141 S. Ct. at 2387 (noting that "[m]ere administrative  
 11 convenience does not remotely 'reflect the seriousness of the actual burden,' and 'the  
 12 weakness of the [government's] interest in administrative convenience').

13 "The availability of the less speech-restrictive reporting and disclosure requirement  
 14 confirms that a statute like the one here at issue cannot survive the applicable narrow  
 15 tailoring standard." *Heller*, 378 F.3d at 995. Whether under strict scrutiny, as in  
 16 *Heller*, or under exacting scrutiny, San Francisco's on-communication secondary donor  
 17 disclosure fails tailoring and is facially unconstitutional.

18 D. San Francisco's effective proscription of shorter ads fails any scrutiny

19 Owing to the length of its demanded messages, the City has crossed the line from  
 20 merely requiring disclaimers and disclosure to limiting how much a committee can  
 21 speak, indeed to proscribing many messages. Because San Francisco in fact "reduce[s]  
 22 the quantity of expression," its requirements must "promote[] a compelling interest  
 23 and [be] the least restrictive means to further" it. *McCutcheon*, 572 U.S. at 197.  
 24 Furthermore, the City may not rely on the informational interest to sustain its speech  
 25 limits. The Supreme "Court has identified only one legitimate governmental interest  
 26 for restricting campaign finances," or the speech those finances make possible:  
 27 "preventing corruption or the appearance of corruption." *Id.* at 206. Put more strongly,  
 28 the Supreme Court has "consistently rejected attempts to suppress campaign speech

1 based on other legislative objectives.” *Id.* at 207.

2 Given that this case involves ballot measures and not candidate elections, there  
 3 can be no actual or apparent risk of quid pro quo corruption. *See id.* at 208 (noting  
 4 interest “confined to . . . *quid pro quo* corruption); *McIntyre*, 514 U.S at 352 n.15  
 5 (noting no corruption risk for ballot measures). Thus, San Francisco lacks any  
 6 legitimate interest in limiting Plaintiffs’ speech or association, and it certainly cannot  
 7 demonstrate that its restrictions are properly tailored to a nonexistent interest.

8 Moreover, the City cannot deny that its compelled messaging effectively proscribes  
 9 shorter messages. Online video advertising is one of the preferred advertising methods  
 10 for “ballot measure campaigns, especially for small” ones. Sinn Decl. ¶ 5. And shorter  
 11 video ads, those lasting 15 seconds or less, are becoming the preferred length for such  
 12 ads. Derse Decl. ¶ 11. But San Francisco’s demanded disclaimer and disclosure takes  
 13 32-33 seconds to share, David Decl. ¶ 13, ruling out the use of the shorter, preferred  
 14 15-second ads. Indeed, speakers cannot use even 30 second ads, as the City’s  
 15 demanded message would still require more time than the message.

16 And even if a speaker could afford a 60-second ad, it would be useless to getting out  
 17 the speaker’s chosen message. To be effective, an ad must get a viewer’s attention  
 18 within the first three to five seconds. Derse Decl. ¶ 12; Sinn Decl. ¶ 6. After that time,  
 19 a viewer will change the channel, scroll down the page, or otherwise avoid the ad.  
 20 Derse Decl. ¶¶ 12-15; Sinn Decl. ¶¶ 11-18. It is difficult to see how San Francisco’s  
 21 disclaimer and disclosure requirements could even be considered remotely engaging.  
 22 *See* Sinn Decl. ¶ 16. They all follow the same format: announcing a speaker’s name, a  
 23 statement that funding information will follow, up to nine donors, and a statement  
 24 that the donor and other financial information may be found at the Ethics  
 25 Commission’s website. This is not must-see TV.

26 Besides the spoken disclaimer swallowing at least half of the ad’s dialogue, a  
 27 written disclaimer must take up one third of the screen for at least the first 10  
 28 seconds. IE Reg.; Cal. Gov’t Code § 84504.1(b). But the black box dominating the

1 message could end up consuming more than one-third of the screen for ads that have  
 2 multiple primary and secondary donors, since each primary donor must be set on its  
 3 own line from any other text, and each line must take up at least 4% of the screen. *Id.*  
 4 The disclaimer would take up at least one third of the screen. IE Reg.; David Decl.  
 5 ¶ 15. San Francisco's requirements result in internet video ads that are "unlikely to  
 6 capture a user's attention," such that speakers are at best "paying for [viewers to see  
 7 and hear the City's] statement and not for the campaign's message." Sinn Decl. ¶ 19.

8 The City's requirements similarly consume or dominate the Committee's  
 9 newspaper ads. As with the video ads, the requirements for newspaper ads require a  
 10 line or two stating that the Committee made the ad and announcing that donor  
 11 information will follow, then one to three lines for each of the primary donors and  
 12 their donors, and then a line directing readers to the Ethics Commission's website for  
 13 that and other donor information. IE Reg.; S.F. Code § 1.161(a)(1)-(3); Cal. Gov't Code  
 14 § 84504.2. The Committee's 2 by 4 inch ads are entirely consumed by the City's  
 15 message before that message is even complete. David Decl. ¶ 16; Ex. 2. While the  
 16 Committee's five by five inch ads contains enough room to finish the City's compelled  
 17 message, doing so leaves little room for anything else. The City's message takes up  
 18 about 70% of a five by five inch ad, using up all the space other than a banner at the  
 19 top, and leaving no room to persuade voters about anything. David Decl. ¶ 16; Ex. 3.

20 Even for longer five by ten inch ads, the City's demanded disclosure and disclaimer  
 21 "is unduly burdensome," as it "drown[s] out" the Committee's message. *Am. Bev. Ass'n*  
 22 *v. City & Cty. of S.F.*, 916 F.3d 749, 761 (9th Cir. 2019) (Ikuta, J., concurring); *id.* at  
 23 757 (en banc). The disclaimer and disclosure requirements consume about 35% of even  
 24 the Committee's longer newspaper ads. David Decl. ¶ 17. And the requirements would  
 25 take up about 23% of the front face of an 8.5 by 11 inch mailer. *Id.* ¶ 18.

26 Thus, San Francisco cannot seek refuge for its disclaimer and on-communication  
 27 disclosure requirements under previous decisions upholding disclaimers and  
 28 disclosure. When San Francisco's requirements consume 23-35% of even the

1 Committee's longer communications, and the requirements swallow entirely the  
 2 Committee's shorter communications, the City cannot claim that its requirements  
 3 "impose no ceiling on campaign-related activities,' [or that its requirements] 'do not  
 4 prevent anyone from speaking'." *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 366 (citations omitted).  
 5 Like the expenditure limits at issue in *Buckley*, San Francisco's requirements  
 6 "necessarily reduce[ ] the quantity of expression by restricting the number of issues  
 7 discussed, the depth of their exploration, and the size of the audience reached."  
 8 *McCutcheon*, 572 U.S. at 197 (alteration in original). And, because "political speech  
 9 must prevail against laws that would suppress it, whether by design or inadvertence,"  
 10 *Citizens United*, 558 U.S. at 340, San Francisco's restrictions are unconstitutional.  
 11 Like the expenditure limits at issue in *Buckley*, they are not narrowly tailored to  
 12 promoting a compelling interest. In particular, limiting speech fails to further any  
 13 interest in informing the public.

14 But even if exacting scrutiny were applied, San Francisco's laws would be  
 15 unconstitutional. Exacting scrutiny is at least equal to, if not a higher standard than  
 16 the intermediate scrutiny applied, for example, to commercial speech. *Compare AFPF*,  
 17 141 S. Ct. at 2383 (requiring a substantial relation to an important governmental  
 18 interest and narrow tailoring), *with Am. Bev. Ass'n*, 916 F.3d at 755-56 (discussing  
 19 *Zauderer* test). And the Ninth Circuit has already held that a less burdensome law  
 20 was unconstitutional under the lesser scrutiny for commercial speech.

21 In *American Beverage Association*, the Ninth Circuit sitting en banc addressed San  
 22 Francisco's demand that advertisements for sugar-sweetened beverages carry a health  
 23 warning. 916 F.3d at 753. Applying the *Zauderer* test for "compelled commercial  
 24 speech," the Ninth Circuit examined whether San Francisco's disclosure requirement  
 25 was "unduly burdensome." *Id.* at 756. And, as with all heightened scrutiny, the City  
 26 had the burden of proof: It had to demonstrate that its law was "neither unjustified  
 27 nor unduly burdensome." *Id.* The en banc court concluded that a disclosure  
 28 requirement taking only 20% of the speaker's message was "not justified when

1 balanced against its likely burden on protected speech.” *Id.* at 757. But the burden  
 2 imposed in *American Beverage Association*, taking up 20% of the message, was smaller  
 3 than the *least* burdensome requirement that the City now imposes on the Committee’s  
 4 speech. No less than in *American Beverage Association*, the City’s requirements act to  
 5 “drown[] out” Plaintiffs’ messages and ‘effectively rule[] out the possibility of having  
 6 [an advertisement] in the first place.” *Id.* (alterations in original).

7 Whatever the level of scrutiny, San Francisco’s burdens on political speech—  
 8 drowning out or preventing messages entirely—are unconstitutional as applied to the  
 9 Committee’s speech. And they are likewise unconstitutional as applied to any other  
 10 ads where the City swallows more than 20% of a message, as the disclosure always  
 11 drowns out such messages.

12 E. San Francisco’s compelled messaging violates Plaintiffs’ freedom of association  
 13 In driving away potential donors, San Francisco’s on-communication secondary  
 14 donor disclosure requirements force the Plaintiffs and others to give up their First  
 15 Amendment right to freely associate with others, preventing them from strengthening  
 16 their voices and sharing their messages. The Supreme Court has long held that “the  
 17 right of association is a basic constitutional freedom that is closely allied to freedom of  
 18 speech and a right which, like free speech, lies at the foundation of a free society.” *Fed.*  
 19 *Election Comm’n v. Nat'l Right to Work Comm.*, 459 U.S. 197, 206-07 (1982) (citation  
 20 and quotation marks omitted). “Protected association furthers a wide variety of  
 21 political, social, economic, educational, religious, and cultural ends, and is especially  
 22 important in preserving political and cultural diversity and in shielding dissident  
 23 expression from suppression by the majority.” *AFPF*, 141 S. Ct. at 2382 (quotation  
 24 marks omitted). In particular, “compelled disclosure of affiliation with groups engaged  
 25 in advocacy may constitute as effective a restraint on freedom of association as [other]  
 26 forms of governmental action.” *Id.* (quotation marks omitted).

27 As discussed above, Ed Lee Dems has donors who would be upset to have their  
 28 names listed on communications advocating positions in which they have no interest

1 or that they oppose. Cheng Decl. ¶ 9. They would withdraw their funding, making it  
 2 harder for the organization to pursue its many other goals. *Id.*

3 Furthermore, the disclaimer and disclosure requirements mislead the voters in a  
 4 way that would undermine the organization's goals. For example, San Francisco's  
 5 rules would require that David Chiu for Assembly 2022 be listed as a secondary donor  
 6 on the communications. But Mr. Chiu is a defendant to this lawsuit as the City  
 7 Attorney. He is not running for Assembly, nor is he inappropriately taking positions  
 8 on issues. But listing him and that committee on communications here would lead  
 9 voters to think otherwise, harming his reputation. And, as supporting leaders like Mr.  
 10 Chiu is part of the mission for Ed Lee Dems, the organization cannot associate with  
 11 SPB and support its communications.

12 The City's requirements thus violate Plaintiffs' freedom of association while  
 13 misleading rather than informing voters. The requirements do not serve the  
 14 informational interest and are unconstitutional.

15 II. THE CHALLENGED PROVISIONS IRREPARABLY HARM PLAINTIFFS.

16 "Irreparable harm is relatively easy to establish in a First Amendment case," as a  
 17 party need only "demonstrate[] the existence of a colorable First Amendment claim."  
 18 *CTIA - The Wireless Ass'n v. City of Berkeley*, 928 F.3d 832, 851 (9th Cir. 2019)  
 19 (quotation marks omitted). That is because "[t]he loss of First Amendment freedoms,  
 20 for even minimal periods of time, unquestionably constitutes irreparable injury." *Elrod*  
 21 *v. Burns*, 427 U.S. 347, 373 (1976); *accord CTIA*, 928 F.3d at 851. "When, as here, a  
 22 party seeks to engage in political speech in an impending election, a delay of even a  
 23 day or two may be intolerable." *Sanders Cnty. Republican Cent. Comm. v. Bullock*, 698  
 24 F.3d 741, 748 (9th Cir. 2012) (quotation marks omitted).

25 Plaintiffs have demonstrated irreparable harm: Until San Francisco's restrictions  
 26 are enjoined, the Committee cannot share its chosen messages, and Ed Lee Dems will  
 27 not be able to contribute to and associate with committees when that might risk on-  
 28 communication disclosure of its donors. Furthermore, as long as San Francisco's

1 compelled speech requirements are in place, Mr. David and his committee's will be  
 2 restricted from speaking in future elections. David Decl. ¶ 25. And they and Ed Lee  
 3 Dems will continue to be limited in their ability to associate with and support the  
 4 messages of other committees. David Decl. ¶ 8; Cheng Decl. ¶ 11.

5 III. THE BALANCE OF EQUITIES, AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST, FAVOR PLAINTIFFS.

6 "Courts have consistently recognized the significant public interest in upholding  
 7 First Amendment principles." *Doe v. San Diego Unified Sch. Dist.*, 19 F.4th 1173, 2021  
 8 U.S. App. LEXIS 35760, at \*29 (9th Cir. 2021). Thus, where it is likely that the First  
 9 Amendment has been violated, an "injunction serves the interests of the general public  
 10 by ensuring that the government's [actions] comply with the Constitution . . . because  
 11 all citizens have a stake in upholding the Constitution." *Hernandez v. Sessions*, 872  
 12 F.3d 976, 996 (9th Cir. 2017) (quotation marks omitted); *see also Rodriguez v. Robbins*,  
 13 715 F.3d 1127, 1145 (9th Cir. 2013) (noting that the government "cannot suffer harm  
 14 from an injunction that merely ends an unlawful" or unconstitutional practice).  
 15 Accordingly, "[t]he public interest and the balance of the equities favor preventing the  
 16 violation of [Plaintiffs] constitutional rights." *Ariz. Dream Act Coal. v. Brewer*, 855  
 17 F.3d 957, 978 (9th Cir. 2017) (quotation marks omitted).

18 CONCLUSION

19 Plaintiffs' motion for temporary restraining order and for a preliminary  
 20 injunction should be granted.

21 Dated: May 12, 2022

Respectfully submitted,

22 /s/ Nicholas Sanders  
 23 Nicholas Sanders (SBN 307,402)  
 James R. Sutton (SBN 135,930)  
 24 THE SUTTON LAW FIRM  
 150 Post St. Ste. 405  
 San Francisco, CA 94108  
 25 Tel.: 415-732-7700  
 jsutton@campaignlawyers.com  
 nsanders@campaignlawyers.com

26 /s/ Owen Yeates  
 27 Owen Yeates (pro hac vice)  
 Alan Gura (SBN 178221)  
 INSTITUTE FOR FREE SPEECH  
 1150 Connecticut Ave., NW, Ste. 801  
 Washington, DC 20036  
 Tel.: 202-301-3300  
 oyeates@ifs.org  
 agura@ifs.org

28 *Counsel for Plaintiffs*

## 1 CERTIFICATE OF NOTICE

2 Pursuant to Rule 65(b)(1)(B), the undersigned contacted representatives for  
 3 Defendants to ask whether they would accept service of the above Notice of Motion  
 4 and Motion for Temporary Restraining Order and Preliminary Injunction.

5 I spoke with Andrew Shen, who is currently, or has recently been, the Deputy City  
 6 Attorney assigned as counsel for the San Francisco Ethics Commission (the  
 7 “Commission”) at the City Attorney’s office, on May 10, 2022, and Mr. Shen said that  
 8 he was working to consolidate service into one litigator at the City’s Attorney’s office.  
 9 On May 11, 2022, Mr. Shen told me that Deputy City Attorney Tara Steeley would be  
 10 handling the case and would have the authority to accept service on behalf of all  
 11 defendants.

12 Ms. Steeley and I spoke on May 11, 2022. From that call, I understood that she  
 13 would be accepting service for all defendants. I emailed Ms. Steeley a summary of my  
 14 understanding of the conversation, and she responded that she would accept service of  
 15 summons for Defendants David Chiu and the City and County of San Francisco, but  
 16 that she could not accept service for Defendant Chesa Boudin and Defendant  
 17 Commission.

18 After the email from Ms. Steeley, I again called Mr. Shen. Because of Mr. Shen’s  
 19 assignment to the Commission, I understand that he is most likely to have the  
 20 authority to accept service on behalf of the Commission. I left a voicemail asking  
 21 whether Mr. Shen or someone else in the City Attorney’s office would represent the  
 22 Commission and accept service. Mr. Shen has not yet responded.

23 I also contacted the Commission to speak with either Executive Director LeeAnn  
 24 Pelham or Chief of Enforcement Pat Ford. I was directed to Mr. Ford with an  
 25 indication that he could handle all inquiries about service. Mr. Ford did not answer his  
 26 phone, and I left a voicemail asking who would accept service on the Commission’s  
 27 behalf. Mr. Ford responded by email on May 12, 2022, that the City Attorney’s office  
 28 handles litigation against the City and that Plaintiffs should contact Ms. Steeley and

1 Mr. Shen.

2 Defendant Chesa Boudin is represented by counsel for Plaintiffs in other matters,  
3 and we regularly communicate. After Ms. Steeley's refusal to accept service for Mr.  
4 Boudin, I spoke with Mr. Boudin by phone to ask who would accept service in the  
5 District Attorney's office of the above Motion. Mr. Boudin indicated that the City  
6 Attorney should accept service on behalf of him and his office, and indicated that he  
7 would call the City Attorney assigned to the District Attorney's office to discuss service  
8 at his earliest convenience. Mr. Boudin has not yet been able to provide me with any  
9 additional information.

10 Because the City Attorney's office seems to be the only entity which can accept  
11 service for Mr. Boudin and the Commission, I called Ms. Steeley again on May 12,  
12 2022. Ms. Steeley did not answer her phone, and I left a voicemail asking whether she  
13 might reconsider accepting service on behalf of all defendants to avoid having three  
14 separate Deputy City Attorneys handling service. Ms. Steeley has not yet responded.

15 We have sent the Complaint and Motion for Temporary Restraining order, along  
16 with their accompanying documents, to Ms. Steeley, for Defendants Chiu and San  
17 Francisco. We have also sent them to the main email address at the District Attorney's  
18 office, [districtattorney@sfgov.org](mailto:districtattorney@sfgov.org), and to the main email address for the San Francisco  
19 Ethics Commission, [ethics.commission@sfgov.org](mailto:ethics.commission@sfgov.org).

20 All the Defendants know that the lawsuit has been filed, and copies of the  
21 Complaint and Motion have been sent to all Defendants. All Defendants have  
22 adequate notice of the Complaint and Motion, and the only point of contention is who  
23 will accept official service. Further notice of the Motion should not be required.

24 Dated: May 12, 2022

*/s/ Nicholas Sanders*

25 Nicholas Sanders (SBN 307,402)  
26 *Counsel for Plaintiff*

27

28

1 CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

2 I hereby certify that I served a true and correct copy of the foregoing by emailing it  
3 to the following:

4 Tara Steeley  
5 Office of City Attorney David Chiu  
6 City Hall, Room 234  
7 1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Pl.  
8 San Francisco, CA 94102  
9 tara.steeley@sfcityatty.org

7 *Counsel for Defendant David Chiu and  
8 City and Defendant City and County of  
9 San Francisco*

10 Chesa Boudin  
11 350 Rhode Island Street  
12 North Building, Ste. 400N  
13 San Francisco, CA 94103  
14 districtattorney@sfgov.org

12 San Francisco Ethics Commission  
13 25 Van Ness Ave., Ste. 220  
14 San Francisco, CA 94102  
ethics.commission@sfgov.org

15 Andrew Shen  
16 Office of City Attorney David Chiu  
17 City Hall, Room 234  
18 1 Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett Pl.  
19 San Francisco, CA 94102  
andrew.shen@sfcityatty.org

18 *Sometimes assigned as counsel for the  
19 San Francisco Ethics Commission*

20 Dated: May 12, 2022

/s/ Owen Yeates

21 Owen Yeates (pro hac vice)  
22 Institute for Free Speech  
23 1150 Connecticut Ave., NW, Ste. 801  
24 Washington, DC 20036  
oyeates@ifs.org  
Tel.: 202-301-3300

25 *Counsel for Plaintiff*